

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BONN

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 14023

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, UR, US, XA, XB

SUBJECT: SOVIETS HARSH ON US GLOBAL STRATEGY, LINK ARMS RACE AND
AFRICA

1. SUMMARY. PRAVDA'S SEPTEMBER 5 INTERNATIONAL REVIEW CARRIES
TOUGHEST ATTACK WE HAVE SEEN SO FAR ON US ADMINISTRATION,
INSISTING THAT ARMS SPENDING TALKS HAS NOW GONE BEYOND POINT
WHERE IT CAN BE CONSIDERED MERELY AS ELECTIONEERING, BUT ALSO
LEADING DIRECTLY INTO TREATMENT OF LEBANON AND SOUTHERN AFRICA
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IN CURIOUS CONTEXT OF GLOBAL "IMPERIALIST PLAN" TO SPLIT THIRD

WORLD. CONVERSELY, IZVESTIYA "HEAVY/ KUDRYAVTSEV, WHO HAS BEEN PROMOTING IDEA OF COHERENT US POST-VIETNAM STRATEGY TO DEFEND GLOBAL INTERESTS THROUGH OTHERS IN THIRD WORLD SINCE EARLY SUMMER, MADE REVERSE LEAP TO US ARMS SPENDING STATEMENTS IN SEPTEMBER 3 PRIVATE CONVERSATION. THIS SUGGESTS TO US THAT SOVIETS NOW HAVE CONSISTENT MEDIA LINE ON US "PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH" STRATEGY ALL OVER THE WORLD, AND THAT WE WILL BE HEARING IT AGAIN. IN SAME CONTEXT, WE WOULD NOTE THAT SEPTEMBER 3 FRG COMMENTARY BY IZVESTIYA'S GRIGORYANTS ALSO TAKES LINE THAT CDU/CSU OPPOSITION TO OSTPOLITIK HAS GONE BEYOND ELECTIONEERING TO ENDANGER THE POLICY, BUT THE EFFECT HERE IS TO LINE SOVIETS UP BEHIND SPD/FDP. END SUMMARY.

2. WE ARE STUCK BY FACT THAT VERY TOUGH LINE TOWARD US TAKEN IN PRAVDA'S INTERNATIONAL REVIEW SEPTEMBER 5 WAS PREVIEWED IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION SEPTEMBER 3 BY IZVESTIYA POLITICAL OBSERVER VLADIMIR LEONT'YEVICH KUDRYAVTSEV IN SAME UNUSUAL FORM, LINKING US DEFENSE SPENDING DEBATE WITH US AFRICA POLICY.

3. IN PRAVDA, REGULAR SUNDAY COMMENTATOR BORIS OREKHOV USES STRONGEST LANGUAGE WE HAVE SEEN SO FAR IN AUTHORITATIVE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW TO SCOURGE ADMINISTRATION ON ARMS SPENDING TALK, LEBANON AND SOUTHERN AFRICA. TAKING OFF FROM NEW IISS "MILITARY BALANCE" ACCOUNT OF US WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT PLANS, HE WRITES THAT NEED TO STOP ARMS RACE MAKES PRESIDENT'S REMARKS TO NATIONAL GUARD ASSOCIATION "ALL THE MORE BEWILDERING AND PERPLEXING." THESE REMARKS ARE "IN NO WAY CONSONANT" WITH GENERAL DETENTE TENDENCY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, WRITES OREKHOV, AND "THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE PRESIDENT ARE IN CLEAR CONTRADICTION WITH THE LINE FOR IMPROVING SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND WITH UNDERSTANDINGS WHICH HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED ON THIS PATH, FOR WHOSE IMPLEMENTATION THE PEOPLES HOPE." TO THE ARGUMENT THAT ELECTORAL CONSIDERATIONS PLAY A ROLE, OREKHOV REPLIES THAT "ELECTIONS ARE ELECTIONS, AND POLICY IS POLICY. AND FOR THIS REASON IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO JUSTIFY STATEMENTS IN CONFLICT WITH THE POLICY OF INTERNATIONAL DETENTE AND IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES BY CONSIDERATIONS OF ELECTORAL STRUGGLE."

4. OREKHOV THEN LAUNCHES DIRECTLY INTO ATTACKS ON US AND
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WESTERN POLICY IN LEBANON AND SOUTHERN AFRICA WHICH ARE DISTINGUISHED FOR THEIR SHARPNESS AND THEIR INSISTENCE ON THE EXISTENCE OF A UNIFIED "IMPERIALIST PLAN" TO DIVIDE THE ARABS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ON THE ONE HAND, AND TO PUT OFF THE DAY OF RECKONING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, ON THE OTHER. ON LEBANON, HE WRITES OF THE "DANGEROUS PLAN" OF "REACTIONARY CIRCLES SUPPORTED FROM OUTSIDE" AND OF THE "GENERAL PLAN" OF "IMPERIALISM AND REACTIONARY FORCES" TO SUBVERT ARAB UNITY. SAME NOTE APPEARED IN

RECENT PRAVDA "OBSERVER" PIECE ON LIBYA, BUT IT IS NOW CARRIED OVER TO THE AFRICAN SOUTH: THE ZURICH MEETING "IS TO SERVE THE COORDINATION OF WORLD IMPERIALISM'S STRATEGY IN AFRICA, WHOSE BASIC GOALS REMAIN AS BEFORE THE PRESERVATION OF RACIST REGIMES IN THE SOUTH OF THE CONTINENT AS STRONGPOINTS OF IMPERIALISM."

5. ORECHOV'S CONCLUSION, "THAT THE CPSU AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HOLD THE INITIATIVE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FIRMLY IN THEIR HANDS," IS PRETTY LAME.

6. ACTING POL COUNSELOR AND EMBOFF CALLED SEPTEMBER 3 ON V.L. KUDRYAVTSEV, IZVESTIYA'S POLITICAL OBSERVER SPECIALIZING IN ASIA AND AFRICA. IN EARLY SUMMER KUDRYAVTSEV CAME UP WITH THE IDEA THAT THE "NEW PACIFIC DOCTRINE" IS ACTUALLY A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES FOR A POST-VIETNAM US STRATEGY FOR THE THIRD WORLD AS A WHOLE, BASED ON SPLITTING THE THIRD WORLD AND DEFENDING US INTERESTS THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES. HE HAS BEEN PERSISTENTLY PROMOTING THIS CONCEPT IN HIS IZVESTIYA COMMENTARIES EVER SINCE, WITH REFERENCE TO THE INDIAN OCEAN, FRASER, MICRONESIA AS WELL AS ENTEBBE AND SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND HE DID SO WITH US: "THE ONLY LESSON OF VIETNAM," HE INSISTED, "IS TO DO IT THROUGH OTHER." AT ONE POINT, HOWEVER, HE LAUNCHED INTO A TIRADE ON "STATEMENTS IN THE US" ABOUT THE SOVIET THREAT AND THE NEED TO COUNTER IT WITH NEW WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT, WHICH SEEMED TO HAVE LITTLE TO DO WITH THE THIRD WORLD CONTEXT OF THE DISCUSSION. HE REFRAINED FROM DIRECT ATTACKS ON ADMINISTRATION FIGURES, AND DID NOT CLARIFY SPECIFICS OF LINKAGE.

7. WE WOULD BE INCLINED TO WRITE OFF AFRICA-ARMS RACE LINKAGE AS ONE OF THE STYLISTIC PECULIARITIES OF WHICH SOVIET COMMENTATORS ARE CAPABLE, EVEN WHEN THEY ARE MORE OR LESS AUTHORITATIVE, HAD THE SAME STRANGE LINK NOT BEEN MADE BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY WITHIN CONFIDENTIAL

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THREE DAYS. THE COINCIDENCE LEADS US TO SUSPECT THAT THE LINKAGE FORMS PART OF A CONSISTENT LINE, TO THE EFFECT THAT UNPLEASANT STATEMENTS AND MOVES BY THE ADMINISTRATION NOW GO BEYOND ELECTORAL POLITICS, AND FORM PART OF A COHERENT GLOBAL STRATEGY OF "PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH," OF WHICH THE TURNAROUND IN DEFENSE SPENDING, U.S. ACTIVITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND NEW US AFRICAN POLICY ARE MERELY CONSTITUENT PARTS.

8. FINALLY, WE WOULD NOTE, AS CONFIRMATION OF THE ABOVE HYPOTHESIS, THAT IZVESTIYA COMMENTATOR GRIGOR'YANTS ADOPTS SAME STANCE SEPTEMBER 3 WITH REGARDS TO FRG ELECTIONS: CDU/CSU OPPOSITION TO OSTPOLITIK, GRIGOR'YANTS WRITES, HAD PASSED THE POINT WHERE IT CAN BE WRITTEN OFF TO ELECTION TACTICS, AND MUST BE SEEN AS PART OF A CAMPAIGN TO DESTROY OSTPOLITIK ITSELF. IN THE GERMAN CASE, HOWEVER, EFFECT IS TO LINE SOVIETS UP SOLIDLY

WITH GOVERNING COALITION: GRIGOR'YANTS ATTACKS STRAUSS AND
DREGGER BY NAME, BUT MAKES NO INVIDIOUS DISTINCTIONS AMONG SPD/
FDP LEADERS (THOUGH ONLY BRANDT IS NAMED).
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